

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 2.]

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THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION.

GREAT attention is at the present moment excited towards the subject of immigration into the British West Indies, more especially into the colonies of Trinidad and British Guiana. All our readers will recollect the early efforts of some Demerara planters to introduce Hill Coolies from India as labourers there, a measure familiarly and justly known as the Gladstone slave-trade. Subsequently to emancipation, strenuous efforts have been made to obtain additions to the working population in the colonies themselves, both by private speculation, and by the enactment of public ordinances; and these not having been as successful as the planters could desire, they have shifted the theatre of their operations to this country, and are now working hard with her Majesty's ministers and the public press. Upon this subject they have shewn an anxiety somewhat unwonted, to conciliate the goodwill of the abolitionists, with a view of engaging their concurrence in an organized system of general emigration to the British West Indies, under the sanction and conduct of the government. They feel, and indeed openly acknowledge, that nothing can be done in such a business without the concurrence of the English people, and that the Anti-slavery Society possess much more of their confidence than themselves. It has thus become doubly a matter of obligation and anxiety to the Committee to bring the whole subject under a careful and searching review; that they might neither fail of a spirit of kindness and goodwill to all parties, nor adopt superficial and ill-founded opinions. Lengthened and patient attention has the case received from them, and the result of their deliberations has been embodied in a declaration which we give below. We cannot over-rate its importance, or too earnestly engage to it the attention of all our friends.

DECLARATION OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE.

"The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, having received information that strenuous efforts are being made to obtain the sanction of government to a plan for importing labourers into our late slave colonies, to be employed principally in sugar cultivation, have taken the subject into deliberate consideration.

"The evidence they have collected from authentic and impartial sources, proves that almost uniformly, where the emancipated negro has been fairly and equitably dealt with, he has willingly remained on the estate of his former owner, and cheerfully performed, for very moderate wages, the most laborious part of sugar cultivation, in many cases to an amount exceeding what could be exacted from him under the severest system of coercion while in a state of slavery.

"The Committee have ascertained that the complaints which are made of inability to procure a sufficiency of labour mainly originate with those agents of non-resident proprietors, who, from having been long accustomed to slavery, and always bitterly opposed, not only to its abolition, but even to its amelioration, and from their habits and deep-rooted prejudices, are utterly disqualified to secure the confidence and willing industry of free labourers.

"The Committee have ascertained also that the emigration which has taken place since 1834 to our colonies, for the purpose of promoting sugar cultivation, has generally been accompanied by much fraud and injustice, as well as by dreadful mortality to the parties who have been entrapped into it.

"All the facts collected by this Committee but too plainly prove, that, although slavery is legally abolished in our colonies, its spirit yet remains in full force with a large majority of the dominant party, and that the free emigrant would find too late, that the enactments in this country of the most impartial and humane laws would not save him from oppression, in the present state of colonial feeling; the object of those who are endeavouring to promote the proposed scheme being too obviously to depress the moderate and often inadequate rate of wages of the present labouring population.

"The Committee cordially concur in the views hitherto expressed by the government on this vital question, as stated in the order in council of the 7th September, 1838, regulating contracts for labour in the Crown colonies, in the instructions sent out to the Governor-General of India, to prevent the further exportation of Hill Coolies from Hindostan, and in the late despatch of the Marquis of Normanby, disallowing the immigration ordinance of British Guiana; and they feel that, in an inflexible adherence to the principles thus officially laid down, her Majesty's ministers are entitled to their strenuous support.

"This Committee is finally impressed with a conviction, that,

at the present time, no general plan of emigration to the colonies can be proposed, either by the local legislatures or the proprietary interest in this country, which would not greatly endanger the happiness and prosperity of a community whose liberty has been purchased by the people of England at so costly a sacrifice, and at the same time hazard incalculable misery to those who might be induced to emigrate; and they earnestly recommend to their friends and correspondents throughout the country to be prepared to adopt active steps to obtain an expression of public opinion on this subject, should circumstances render it necessary.

"JOSEPH STURGE, Chairman."

We shall return to this subject in our next.

THE STIPENDIARY MAGISTRACY IN THE WEST INDIES.

THE appointment of the Stipendiary Magistracy in our late slave-colonies has been a very sore point with the planters, from the commencement of the great experiment of emancipation. To the institution of apprenticeship it was so obviously necessary—it formed, indeed, so essential a part of the entire scheme—that there seemed no possibility to these reluctant gentlemen of escaping from it at that time; but they were in full expectation of deliverance on the termination of that unnatural system. In some places—Jamaica particularly—their joy broke out into expressions of vulgar and insolent triumph. That triumph, happily, was premature, since it seemed good to the colonial government of that day to continue the stipendiary justices in their office; but it would be an egregious mistake to imagine that the planters are become at all reconciled to this arrangement. A strenuous effort to get rid of what they deem so great a nuisance was made on the part of the Jamaicans, through Mr. Burge, in the spring of last year; and these wily gentlemen thought he had succeeded, nor are we by any means sure that he did not very nearly succeed. We have it on unquestionable authority, that the assembly of that island have resumed this business with great earnestness; that they have adopted measures of inquiry, so called, which they hope will be preliminary to it; and that they have instructed the island agent to press it by all the means and arguments in his power on the home government. This pliable body, we are assured, have even authorized Mr. Burge to promise and vow anything in their name, and especially to pay all necessary justices, provided they may only get rid of the stipendiaries.

On this side of the water all this will be very well understood, and will create no surprise. It is not necessary to suppose that the stipendiary magistrates have in the least degree misconducted themselves, in order to account for the hatred of the plantocracy towards them. The very work they had to do must have been unacceptable to this party; since it was—one-half of it at least—to see that justice was done by them to persons whom they had long been accustomed to oppress without rebuke. It never was expected, that, if the stipendiaries did their duty, they would be popular with the planters; they never could have acquired such a popularity but by holding in abeyance an essential and most important part of their commission, and lending themselves to schemes of tyranny and wrong. The loud complaints of these gentlemen, therefore, have neither alarmed nor startled us. On the contrary, they have afforded us gratification. They constitute one of the very testimonies we wanted, that the men we have paid have done their duty, and applied themselves faithfully to the purposes for which they were sent. They are no evidence to us that wrong has been done to employers, or injury to estates; they tell us rather that proud attorneys have been obstructed, and cruel managers restrained, that the wolf has been scared from the prey, and the lamb found a shelter from his teeth. All this is what we rejoice to learn upon such authority. We should have been chagrined and suspicious if it had not been so; and, instead of allowing the invectives of planters to alienate our confidence one moment from the stipendiary magistrates, we hail them as at once the proof and the measure of their fidelity and usefulness. We hope and believe that the same view is taken of this matter by the government.

Whether the system of stipendiary magistracy in our late slave-colonies should be permanent, and, if not, when and how it should come to an end, are questions of grave moment. In the first instance, undoubtedly, the institution was not understood to be of a permanent character, and we are not sure that it has yet come to be regarded by the government in this light. Should there arise in the colonies a general spirit of equity and justice, instead of the oppressive temper so long prevalent in them, it might perhaps be possible, when that period should have arrived,



to make an alteration in this respect; but, without this preparation it would evidently be fatuous to think of it. The practical point, therefore, on which the question of the abolition of a stipendiary magistracy turns is the actual state of colonial feeling towards the peasantry. If upon any satisfactory evidence it could be asserted that colonial feeling in this respect has already become such as may be entrusted with the administration of justice, certainly no parties would receive such an assurance with more joy than ourselves. Few persons, however, we are sure, would be sufficiently hardy to make such an assertion; and, with the evidence of facts before us, we should not believe them. Mr. Burge, no doubt, and the thorough-going West Indians, will assure us, that the spirit of oppression has quite disappeared, and that, although the vaunted paternal regard of the days of slavery was somewhat of a fiction, now it would be a strict and illustrious reality. But we cannot believe it. Mr. Alexander Grant and the Cornwall juries are our witnesses in this matter; together with the manner in which their flagrant proceedings have been received by the whites at large, and a resolution of the assembly itself, who (ludicrously enough, to be sure,) have taken these immaculate juries under their protection, by instructing Mr. Burge to prosecute any person in England who should cast a stain on their reputation. The Barretts of Jamaica, the Applewhaites of Barbados, and the Russells and Nimmos of Demerara, cannot yet be trusted to treat a black peasantry as we must have them treated. And well my Lord John Russell knows this. To withdraw the stipendiary magistracy now, would be to let loose again on a peaceful and rising community the very bloodhounds who have been so long harassing and destroying them, and who have been so slightly affected by their present bonds, that they stand even yet pawing and gnashing with their teeth, as longing for another career of violence and blood.

Nor could we come to the conclusion that the stipendiary magistracy might be safely abolished, even if the state of colonial feeling were for the moment much better than it is. It would still require to be considered that the repose and equity apparent must be regarded, not only as produced by the stipendiary system, but as maintained by it. How long would they last after its abolition? Evident as it is that the spirit of colonial society is but little changed for the better, whatever improvement may have arisen in the administration of justice must be set down to the pressure of the unwelcome system, and it would not last a month if that system were done away. The evils against which it was directed are held in check, not cured; the waters which have deluged the country are dammed up, not diverted; and to break down the dam would be only to restore the original mischief with aggravated fury. Angry justices would pay themselves by more extraordinary frolics for their coerced moderation, while attorneys and managers would return with redoubled zest to the partially suspended methods of cudgels and ejections.

Further, we cannot see why the stipendiary magistracy, whatever might be the improved state of colonial feeling, should be superseded at all. They are doing nothing by which any one is injured, or by which any one ought to be galled. If colonial society were what is desired, the stipendiary magistracy would no longer be a mortifying system; were all parties willing to be just, it would be universally acceptable. We see not, therefore, why it should ever be abolished, and we should rejoice to see it become a permanent and essential part of our colonial government. One thing is certain, that it ought to be most resolutely retained so long as there is a vehement desire for its abandonment. The wish to get rid of it can be nothing less than a wish to be at liberty for mischief. The eagerness of the Jamaica assembly to pay all the justices in the island is of very easy interpretation. They obviously wish to have them all under their control, to crush magisterial independence, and to be able to frighten justices from justice by the fear of losing their salaries. They are shrewd men, these planters, and great lovers of public economy; but—they are no conjurers!

On the subject of economy, however, if it really were a grave consideration on this question, it should be remembered, that if it has cost something to pay the salaries of the magistrates, much has in consequence been saved in the diminished expences of the military. Sir Lionel Smith was enabled to reduce the military force in Jamaica one-half, (having sent away three regiments of regulars out of six) in consequence of the peaceable and orderly state of the island, and the unbounded confidence exercised by the peasantry in the stipendiaries. It is infinitely better to pay justices than soldiers, at any cost; in Jamaica, however, to pay forty justices enables the governor to dispense with two thousand troops! This, we think, is buying order absolutely cheap.

In conclusion, we must express our most earnest hope that the Noble Lord at the head of the colonial department will devote his most serious and searching attention to this question. He has already intimated in parliament, that he is far from satisfied with the administration of justice in Jamaica; and we know that he has been assured, on authority which ought to be of the greatest weight with him, that the stipendiary magistracy has been, and is at this time, of the most vital importance to that island. On this point the late governor, Sir Lionel Smith, bears a most distinct and prompt testimony, in his reply to the address of the Anti-slavery Committee, which appears in our columns to-day; and our sources of private information speak yet more strongly. We may place dependence, we hope, on Lord John Russell's characteristic firmness in this matter. We can assure him of public approbation, and of prompt and energetic support, should it become necessary.

EAST INDIA SLAVERY.

A GREAT want of correct information respecting the present state of slavery in India is very prevalent. A late eminent writer, residing in Bengal in 1825, stated—"No slavery legally exists in the British territories at this moment." The editor of a popular periodical published in India in 1823, says—"Slavery is now entirely prohibited here (Bengal) by the British government, as really as in Britain itself. It is some little consolation to learn, that in India there can be no hereditary slavery." At a recent meeting in London on the subject of slavery, one of the speakers said—"Slavery has been so nearly extinguished in the British dominions, that, if it were found lurking in any remote corner of the empire, and could be fully exposed, he believed the nation was prepared to crush it at once and for ever!" The error of this estimable friend (in common with many others,) arose from not duly considering the extent of the great measure for the abolition of colonial, or rather negro slavery. On the renewal of the East India charter in 1833, it was proposed by ministers to abolish slavery in British India on or before April 12th, 1837; but this was overruled in the House of Lords, and the subject was left to the India government. When slavery in the West Indies was abolished, British India and the Eastern Isles were unhappily excluded from the range of that noble effort of Christian philanthropy. In August, 1839, Sir J. C. Hobhouse, president of the India board, stated—"That there is a commission sitting in India upon the subject of slavery, and that, as soon as its labours should be concluded, a report would be forwarded to this country." From these tardy proceedings it may be justly feared, that many years will elapse before East India slavery will be abolished.

The voluminous parliamentary papers of March, 1828, August, 1832, and July, 1838, contain much information upon India slavery: the following extracts appear important. Of the nature of slavery in British India it is difficult to speak in terms that are equally applicable to the different provinces in the peninsula. The Hindoo code divides the slaves into fifteen classes. In Canara, the slaves are divided into three castes,—the *moondul*, *mogare*, and *mavey*; their customs are very singular. "The utmost to which the sale of slaves is tolerated in Malabar is domestic slavery, and this is exclusively confined to those born in a state of bondage. In some districts the offspring are divided between the owners of the father and the mother; but they are never separated from their parents till adults. In Malabar and Canara, where the land is very generally divided and occupied as separate properties, the labourer is the personal slave of the proprietor, and is sold and mortgaged by him independently of his lands!" In the Tamul country, where land is of less value, the labourer is understood to be the slave rather of the soil than of its owner, and is seldom sold or mortgaged except along with the land to which he is attached." The most copious and satisfactory information upon this subject is found in the reports of eleven collectors to whom the Madras government, in 1819, addressed queries respecting slavery in their collectorates. The replies are contained in the parliamentary papers on slavery in India, 1828, pp. 887—896. A few extracts will show the nature of slavery under the Madras presidency. The collector of Coimbatore observes, "From all that I can learn, it appears certain, that the owner has a right to sell his slaves without the land; but that it is a right very seldom, if ever, exercised. The highest price of a good slave is fifty rupees (£5.) The price, however, is seldom so high. The children of slaves are born slaves." In Tanjore slavery exists. "The master has the power of selling the slave, but he cannot sell him to any one who will carry him to a distant part of the country, without his consent. When the lands are sold in any way, it is always independent of the bondsmen, if any upon it. If they are likewise to be sold, separate deeds of transfer are passed; if not, they continue attached to their former masters." "It is usual in the district of Tinnevely, for slaves to be sold or mortgaged either with the land or separately, as the proprietor pleases, or his wants require."—South Arcot. "The lower castes are always looked upon as natural slaves, the property of any person who contributes to defray their marriage expenses, which is the ordinary way, at present, of constituting hereditary slavery. The offspring of slaves are always regarded as the property of their father's owner."—North Arcot. It does not appear to be accurately settled to whom the child of a slave belongs!! The people who keep slaves most likely find it cheaper to buy slaves than to rear them! and the offspring, when left to their parents' charge, who have barely sufficient to support themselves, die of absolute want! I cannot discover that they have any rights or privileges, and they are not possessed of any property, neither can they inherit any."

Though the miseries of East India Slavery appear not to equal those which existed in the West, they are of such a character as to cry loudly to Britain for redress. A few extracts may suffice: "Male slaves are few in Malwa, and are generally treated more like adopted children than menials. Females in almost every instance are sold to prostitution." T. H. Baber, Esq., magistrate in Malabar, declares, "Nothing can be more abject and wretched than the slaves of Malabar; their huts are little better than mere baskets, and their diminutive stature and squalid appearance evidently shew a want of adequate nourishment." Mr. Greme, in his report of Malabar, in 1822, remarks, "The slave alone has his sieve of a hut in the centre of the rice lands; but on the coast at least, he is an industrious and not an unintelligent being, in good condition, and nothing deficient in bodily frame. In the interior, he is a wretched,

half-starved, diminutive creature, stunted in his food, and exposed to the inclemencies of the weather; whose state demands that commiseration and melioration which may confidently be expected from the British Government." The Madras board of revenue, in 1818, justly stated, "The treatment of slaves necessarily depends principally on the individual character of their owners; and when we reflect on those evils which are inseparable from even the mildest state of slavery, and consider how large a portion of our most industrious subjects are at present totally deprived of a free market for their labour—restricted by inheritance to a mere subsistence—and sold and transferred with the land which they till,—policy, no less than humanity, would appear to dictate the propriety of gradually relieving them from those restrictions which have reduced them, and must continue to confine them, to a condition scarcely superior to that of the cattle which they follow at the plough."

Of the extent of slavery in British India it is impossible to speak with precision. The greatest number of slaves are found under the Madras presidency. "In Malabar (exclusive of Wynaud) the number of slaves is estimated by the collector at 100,000. In Malabar, a man's wealth is as much appreciated by the number of his slaves, as by any other property he may possess." "Domestic slavery," says Hamilton, "is very generally prevalent in Bengal, among both Hindoos and Mahomedans. In the lower provinces under the Bengal presidency, the employment of slaves in the labour of husbandry is almost unknown. In the upper provinces, beginning from Western Behar and Benares, the petty landlords are aided in their husbandry by slaves." No correct idea can be formed from the parliamentary papers of the exact number of slaves in British India. The following numbers have been ascertained from a careful examination of them:—

Slaves:	
Canara, Malabar, Coorg, Wynaud, Cochin, and Travancore.....	400,000
Tinnevely.....	324,000
Trihinopoly.....	10,600
Arcoot, South Division.....	3000
Ditto, North Division.....	17,000
Southern Concan.....	2000
Surat.....	2000
Ceylon.....	27,397
Assam.....	11,300
Penang.....	3000
	800,297

It is painfully evident that slavery is not "lurking in some remote corner of the empire," but that it is extensively and palpably prevalent in our eastern territories. It has been justly remarked, "Slavery is the same bitter draught in the east as in the west. The outcry raised in India against the *Suttee* was long powerless, until it returned reverberated from the British shore; and that against slavery will continue disregarded, unless it receive support from all the energy of the home government." May India's cries to British humanity soon be heard, and her miseries be effectually relieved!

EXPOSURE OF MR. TRIST, UNITED STATES CONSUL AT HAVANA.

[From Dr. Madden's Letter to Dr. Channing.]

Mr. N. P. Trist is the gentleman who fills the office of consul-general of the United States at the Havana. He has gained for himself within the last three or four years a considerable degree of unenviable notoriety, and for his office, unfortunately, an amount of obloquy highly prejudicial to its high character, by the arrogance of his conduct, the neglect of his duties, and lastly, by the scandalous protection he has afforded to the slave-trade, and the open predilection he has recently avowed, and officially recorded, for the interests of that nefarious traffic.

Of late he has taken occasion twice, in official communications, to bestow a vast quantity of abuse on the British members of the commission for the suppression of the slave-trade, and not only the present members of it, but their several predecessors; and moreover, the most unmeasured reproach it is possible to conceive, on the British government; but, what is most likely to excite the anger of the folks of the old country, this poor man has bestowed "his pity" on a very large portion of the people of England. And for what calamity, forsooth?—why, for their abhorrence of the slave-trade; because, in the words of Mr. Trist, they waste their energies on a cause that is "a delusion," practised on them by men who are "self-seekers," "deceivers," "theatrical exhibitors," "fanatics," "impostors;" for all of whom his feelings, he declares, are those of "disgust and indignation."

The "disgust" of Mr. Trist is certainly sufficiently loathsome without the insult of his "pity," and either of them less patiently to be endured than his "indignation."

There is some allowance, however, to be made for the latter; a latent feeling of respect for the interests of the "market," and of regret for the loss of property in Cuba which must have made him a frequenter of it, had he been able to have retained his estate there, no doubt have much to do with the "indignation" of the discomfited planter. Mr. Trist had scarcely entered on his official duties, when he purchased an estate in Cuba. Every one conversant with slavery in that island, knows that the slave population is not kept up by the increase on the plantations: on sugar properties, that there is in fact no increase at all, and that it is necessary, under the present system of management, to have recourse to the slave-market, to make up for the annual decrease by the purchase of newly imported slaves from Africa. So that one of the first acts of this officer was to place himself in a condition, which imposed on him the necessity of participating in a crime which the laws of his country pronounce piracy, and punish with the penalty of death.

Fortunately for his office, Mr. Trist became unable to meet the engagements into which he had entered, when the period came round for the payment for this estate. Law proceedings were commenced against him, and he was compelled to shelter himself under the privileges of his office and the special protection of the captain-general, to avoid the ruinous consequences of a legal prosecution in a Spanish court. Mr. Trist was compelled to give up his estate,—his property, but not his will, consented to the sacrifice.

Driven from the pleasing exercise of power as a Cuban planter, he turned to the prospect of the emoluments of office; and the protection of the slave-trade opened a new field for speculation. In the year 1836, the published correspondence of the commissioners with the British Government throws some light on the proceedings of Mr. Trist during the preceding year, with respect to the countenance given by that person to the slave-trade, then carrying on between Texas and the island of Cuba. This trade in the latter part of 1835, had been carried on by American citizens to a considerable extent. The attention of the commissioners was at length called to these scandalous proceedings. A new plan was devised to evade their vigilance. The American consul, when a shipment was to be made, had declarations made before him by the captains of the American vessels employed in transporting the bozal negroes from this port, stating that these persons were free indentured labourers, and this declaration was duly attested by Mr. Trist. In plain terms, the signature of the American consul at the Havana was appended to these fraudulent documents; he, Mr. Trist, well knowing that the said free indentured labourers, were sent to Texas to be sold there, by dealers established in Cuba for the sole purpose of this traffic.

The Commissioners' knowledge of these matters, in all probability, was made known at Washington; for on the 23rd of February, 1836, the following notice was posted up in the American consulate at the Havana.

"It being understood that several American vessels have lately been chartered for the transportation of Africans, or black men, from this island to Texas, Notice is hereby given to American ship-masters, and to all others, that any and every such proceeding is in direct violation of the laws of the United States. In no case whatever is it lawful for any American vessel to carry a slave, or coloured person held to service or labour, except only in going from one port in the United States to another.

"Except as just stated, no American vessel can lawfully sail with any black or coloured person whatever, unless such black or coloured person be really and truly, to all intents and purposes, free. To take, or have on board, any negro or coloured person whatever, who may be in any way held to service or labour, no matter whether such coloured person be called by the name of apprentice, or any other, is strictly forbidden by law. The law is just as certainly violated in carrying Africans, no matter under what name, from this island to Texas, as in bringing Africans from any part of their own coast to this island. In any case of the violation of the law, the vessel and cargo are sure to be condemned, if seized while on the voyage to Texas, or elsewhere, with any such coloured person on board, or if prosecuted after her return to the United States, and the master and every person employed in said vessel are, moreover, subject to the heaviest penalties; the least of which is fine and imprisonment for three years, and in some cases amounting to death.

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Havana, February 23, 1836."

Now, the first question is, what evidence is there of Mr. Trist having given his signature to the fraudulent declarations of the captains of the slave-carrying vessels? The best evidence in such a case, Mr. Trist's own official acknowledgment of the fact! In his last communication to the commissioners, dated the 8th of July, 1839, in referring to this subject, he attempts to prove that Mr. Macleay, the chief commissioner, had stated that which was not true, namely, that he had left it to be understood that he, Mr. Trist, was the person who made the declaration, whereas he was only the attester of the declaration. It happens that Mr. Macleay had stated nothing of the kind. But, fortunately for truth, in the anger of Mr. Trist at the detection of the Texian slave-trade, to which he had lent the influence of his official character, he plainly and directly admits that he did sign the declarations, in these cases of Texian exportations of negroes, which were made before him; and moreover that the negroes carried from this port to Texas went under the denomination of apprenticed labourers.

In his consular notice he distinctly states, that

"No vessel can lawfully sail with any black or coloured person whatever, unless such black or coloured person be really and truly, to all intents and purposes, free." Nay, more, that if such persons "are held in any way to service or labour, no matter whether such coloured person be called by the name of apprentice, or any other, it is strictly forbidden by law."

May I ask Mr. Trist, why then he suffered these negroes, who he acknowledges were represented in the declaration as "indentured labourers," and consequently held to "service" and "labour," to be carried away illegally; and why he gave the sanction of his official signature to documents which he knew were "in direct violation of the laws of the United States?" Why did he, the consul of the United States, permit the persons who made these declarations,—subjects of America,—to perpetrate a crime which involved the penalty of "fine and imprisonment," "seizure" of the vessel thus employed, and "confiscation" of the property of his fellow-citizens? Why did he not refuse his signature to proceedings which he denounces the illegality of, after they have been carried into effect, with so dreadful a penalty to be incurred by their commission; "in some cases," (to use Mr. Trist's own words) amounting "to death?"

LIST OF AUXILIARY SOCIETIES

continued.

23. LUTON, formed December, 1839.
24. MARGATE, formed
25. FALMOUTH, Jamaica, formed August 1st, 1839.
26. ST. CATHERINE'S, Jamaica, formed August 1st, 1839.
27. KINGSTON, Jamaica, formed August 1st, 1839.
28. STEWART-TOWN, Jamaica, formed November 6th, 1839.

MR. ALEXANDER, MR. SCOBLE, and MR. WHITEHORNE (of Bristol) left London for Paris, on Anti-slavery business, on the 23rd instant.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ALL friends of the Anti-slavery cause are earnestly requested to take in and recommend the ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER, the expense of which is covered by the small sum of three half-pence per week, or six shillings and sixpence per annum. Orders will be executed by all newsmen, in town or country.

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read Bowly, Christopher, Cirencester	5	0	0	2	0	0

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JANUARY 25TH.

THE Committee continue to receive encouraging accounts of the attention excited towards the Anti-slavery Convention, in June next.

Our readers will see with pleasure that a numerous and highly respectable deputation, including several Members of Parliament, waited upon the late Governor of Jamaica, on the 21st instant, with an address of congratulation and thanks. Sir Lionel's reply will be read with interest, and contains matter which should be deeply pondered. One sentence of it should be especially remembered; "I entreat you," his Excellency said, "not to relax in the exertions which I know to be still necessary to consolidate freedom in Jamaica."

The accounts by the last mail of the proceedings of the House of Assembly, these are quite in keeping with this language.

We beg respectfully to call the attention of the colonial office to some extracts which we have made from a Dominica paper, reporting certain proceedings and speeches at the board of council of that island. We have had ample accounts of late of the doings of the Dominica board of council, but we were certainly not prepared to hear of a legislative body, even in the West Indies, conducting its proceedings with such intemperance of language, indecency of behaviour, and acrimony of feeling towards the government, as the proceedings adverted to exhibit. The Mr. Blanc, who figures so conspicuously in the tempest that he raised, and who appears much fitter for another conceivable situation than a seat in the council, (of which *august* board, he has the presidency) is the same *gentleman* (!) that is known here to have been instrumental, during the apprenticeship, when he was attorney-general, in procuring from the court of grand sessions a sentence of public whipping upon two females. This president of Her Majesty's Dominica council is also the same *gentleman*, who (as we have been informed by one well qualified to know) did himself the honour of entertaining at his table a felon slave-trader of the brig Don Francisco, captured off Dominica in 1837, with 430 Africans, and taken into that island.

So it is pretty certain now, from the lips of the president and factious leader of the Dominica council, that "this board have repeatedly pronounced that they will never consent to the charging of fees of poor prisoners to the colony, so long as a bill is not presented to the board from the popular branch, compelling such persons to labour for the colony in return." These are the words of the president of Her Majesty's council, in approval of the decision of the board! And to what do our readers, to what does the colonial office, suppose this atrocious sentiment to apply? Why, to the case of persons tried criminally, and declared by the jury NOT GUILTY. For a proper understanding of the character of the proceedings under review, we must inform our readers, that in Dominica, when a person is prosecuted criminally, (no matter the offence, acquitted or not acquitted, "true bill" or "no bill,") that person, man, woman, or child, is called upon to pay about *fifty shillings sterling* as fees upon the prosecution, in default of which the party is straightway conducted to prison, there to remain until payment be made, or until the assembly and council can agree upon a resolution for charging these fees to the colony, an agreement which it appears, from what we knew before, now confirmed by Mr. Blanc's own words and the whole proceedings before us, the council was never willing to concede. It has happened, however, that, after several ineffectual attempts on the part of the assembly to abolish this monstrous practice, the attention of the governor has been drawn to the subject, and that latterly, after these poor persons found "not guilty" but still imprisoned, had remained some months in prison, the governor would exercise the royal prerogative by releasing them. Our readers will perceive how the governor, for exercising this act of humanity—not to say, *justice*—has been abused and vilified, along with the colonial office, by the president of her Majesty's Dominica council. We were in possession, before seeing these legislative proceedings of the council, of the facts of the two cases of Theodore Constable and Marie Lagrande, brought to the notice of the governor, and detailed in an official publication of the island, so that we are not taken in with Mr. Blanc's expression of "*convicted thief*," as applied to these prisoners. The woman was declared "*not guilty*" by the jury. The other pleaded guilty, (openly taking a few canes before a mill) further stating in substance he was not aware that what he had done was an offence,

and the court itself appeared so much impressed with this belief that it awarded no punishment, (save the paying of the fees): and we subsequently find the chief justice of the same court giving him a certificate, in connexion with the same subject, the terms of which leave no manner of doubt as to the poor man's innocence.

We doubt not that Lord John Russell must at once perceive how extensively oppressive such a practice as that under consideration must prove in a community seven-eighths of whom have just been released from bondage, and are depending for daily bread upon their daily wages. What must be the situation of a father—a mother—thus circumstanced, who is sent to prison! sent to prison, though declared by a jury "*not guilty*!" Look at this very case of Marie Lagrande. She was declared *not guilty*—sent to prison for the fees—there she remains some five months—she has, we have been informed, a consumptive husband and two children depending upon her for support, she is so poor that the marshal has to feed her in prison, the value of this food being added to the fees—and yet, when the governor releases her after these five months of unmerited suffering, this humane president of council abuses the governor, and refuses, and procures the council to refuse, assent to the act!

Colonial and Foreign Intelligence.

BRITISH COLONIES.

JAMAICA.

Dr. PALMER has been released from custody by the House of Assembly, previously to their adjournment for several months. His incarceration lasted twenty-three days.

BARBADOS.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

We feel great pleasure in reporting that things, so far as human agency is concerned, have been gradually mending since the close of last crop, and are now tolerably well, with a prospect of being soon better. The foolish attempt contemplated just before the crop was finished, against the peace of the country, in the shape of combinations to reduce wages, we rejoice to say was prudently abandoned before it had shown itself in any overt act; and we learnt yesterday, from a respectable planter to leeward, that wages for extra labour are decidedly on the rise his way. This, in our opinion, affords a most favourable opportunity to proprietors, to introduce the rent system, in favour of which, we are happy to report, there is a pretty general conviction among the more respectable and liberal of the planters, both proprietors and managers. Several of the latter have expressed to us the great joy they would feel, (and we believe them) were the measure immediately introduced on the respective estates under their management; as it would save them a great deal of botheration and now necessary surveillance over the daily motions of the labourers, to see that they do not cheat the estate of the quantity of labour stipulated for as an equivalent for house and ground; and as it would speedily remove innumerable little difficulties, which, however insignificant when viewed separately in detail, are in the aggregate an immense obstacle to the well working of the estate. These are the working men, the practical planters, upon whose conduct, for good or for evil, the prosperity of the country, in the successful working of emancipation, as much depends as upon the conduct of the emancipated themselves—perhaps more so.

One of the benefits, and not the least, which we anticipate from the adoption of the rent system, unshackled with any condition to labour, is, that whilst it would greatly facilitate the management throughout, and ease the manager of a large portion of his present awful responsibility in those particulars most revolting to the sensible and humane among them,—it would entirely take from those of the opposite character, the foolish, the reckless, the vicious,—decidedly the most numerous portion,—all power to do evil. Ejectments, now almost a necessary part of the present system under the best management, would cease to inflict torment when they ceased to be immediate, at the whim of the moment; and these worthies would, therefore, seldom care to resort to them; and public decency and public sympathy—the sympathy of the virtuous portion of the community—would scarcely be offended when they did.

Two or three respectable proprietors are pledged to introduce the rent system on their estates in a few days. The labourers themselves, it is thought by some proprietors, will be averse to the change; but they will be great fools if they are, and we should no more think of conciliating their folly to the relinquishing of a good, than we should the folly of any other.

In concluding this notice on the state of the country, we must congratulate our readers on the great reduction which has already taken place in the price of provisions. They are likely, we are told, to be much cheaper, the general crop through the country being somewhat better than was expected from the drought. The cane crop, however, in some of the parishes, has suffered most severely from this cause; and we have been assured, by practical planters, that the ensuing crop will, *solely on this account*, scarcely be an average one, if it do not fall greatly short.—*Liberal*.

The legislature of this island met on the 26th of November. The governor opened his speech by the following reference to the remarkable diminution of punishments in the first year of freedom:—

"On meeting the Legislative Houses, I am happy to refer, amongst the documents about to be laid before you, to comparative statements, whence it will appear that, during the last year of apprenticeship in this island, between the 1st of August, 1837, and the 1st of August, 1838, ten thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight punishments were inflicted under the authority of the justices of the peace; and during the first year of freedom, between the 1st of August, 1838, and the 1st of August, 1839, not more than two thousand nine hundred and sixteen."

On this gratifying announcement, the editor of the *Liberal* observes:—"No one will attempt to attribute this to undue leniency on the part either of the proprietors or the magistrates; no one will affirm, and expect to be believed, that either of these have overlooked and forborne to punish offences which ought to have been punished. We must therefore infer from this immense diminution of punishments, one of two things:—that, either during the apprenticeship, many things were consi-

dered and punished as offences, which ought not to have been so considered and punished, or that "the happy free people" have, in this first year of freedom, most astonishingly improved in their moral and social duties, notwithstanding the slanderous assertions of their lying detractors to the contrary. The reader may choose as he pleases between these two inferences, one or the other of which is inevitable."

DOMINICA.

EXTRAORDINARY PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL.

(From the *Dominican*.)

COUNCIL CHAMBER, TUESDAY, NOV. 12.

Relief of Prisoners confined in Jail for non-payment of Fees.

THE CHIEF JUSTICE moved that the resolution of the House of Assembly, authorizing the marshal to charge the fees incurred by the two prisoners, Theodore Constable and Maria Lagrande, to the colony, be agreed to. —Since the receipt of the resolution the prisoners had been released by the governor, as announced in his excellency's message of the last meeting, but this vote was still necessary to procure payment of the marshal's claim.

Mr. O'Sullivan seconded the motion.

The president of the board (Mr. Blanc) rose to object to the motion. —The governor had committed a violation of the law of the land, and had trampled upon the privileges of that board as an independent branch of the legislature, by releasing these convicted thieves, after a court of justice had adjudged that they should pay their fees previously to being discharged by the marshal. The governor had at one meeting sent a message recommending the case of these persons to the consideration of the board, with a view of getting their fees charged to the colony, that they might be discharged; and at a subsequent meeting he announces that he had, in compliance with instructions from the governor in chief, discharged them. —The governor as much as said, "I asked you to do so-and-so, but mark now, I have done it without you." —Shall not the board, like Englishmen, men possessing and representing an overwhelming interest in the country, who, he (Mr. B.) must say, are the proprietary of the country, shall not they resist every such encroachment and outrage upon their privileges? Besides, this board have repeatedly pronounced that they will never consent to the charging of fees of poor persons to the colony, so long as a bill is not presented to the board from the popular branch compelling such persons to labour for the colony in return. In England, it was only in 1774 that persons acquitted were relieved from payment of their fees, and cases were known in the books where allowances had been withheld, except bread and water, upon the prisoners refusing to work for the public. In this case, the parties petitioning had not been acquitted, but were convicted thieves. Was it for such persons that gentlemen were to contribute their one hundred guineas of taxes upon their estates? No! He said then that, in the first place, the governor had violated their privileges, in the same way as he did lately, when he sent an order to their clerk, desiring him to furnish his excellency with the minutes of the council after each meeting. In the second place, these persons were able to work, doubtless, and before their fees were paid for them, they ought first to be made to labour for the colony in return.

The Chief Justice repudiated the needless warmth that had been embarked by the president of the board, in discussing this question. Neither the alleged violation of privilege in the governor's discharging the prisoners without consent of the board, nor the defect in our statute book, as to the requiring of persons like the parties whose case was now before the board to labour for the colony, at all affected the simple question for consideration: which was—shall the marshal suffer for having humanely fed, in the absence of any legislative enactment, certain persons now out of jail? If there be blame anywhere for the want of such a law as pointed out by the president, surely that blame did not rest upon the marshal. —The president had said that it was only in 1774 prisoners in England were exempted from fees when acquitted, and drew the inference that it was time enough to extend the principle here; but he, (the Chief Justice) was proud to say, that, ever since he had an opinion on such matters, he had always denounced the absurdity, the folly, the barbarity, the inhumanity, the cruelty, of compelling a person against whom no charge was proved, and who might be as innocent of any as a child just born, to pay money out of his pocket or to go to jail. No, "this was not English,"—it was not honourable, and he sincerely hoped the good sense and justice of honourable members would induce them to refuse the amendment of the president, and, as it might as well be done first as last, appreciate the humanity of the marshal, by paying him what he had laid out in the feeding of these prisoners.

Mr. Bremner.—No fine or other punishment had been inflicted on the prisoners, and therefore he would vote for the amendment.

The amendment was then carried four in favour of, and two against it.

The Chief Justice having requested the clerk to note his name as the mover of the original motion: the clerk put it to the board.

Mr. Blanc.—I object to these innovations upon our forms; the adopting of such a plan can have but one object, and that a most mischievous one. When members, the nominees of government, wish to have the names of the mover, and the seconder, and the supporters of a motion recorded, it can only have the effect of holding themselves up to government for reward and approbation hereafter. Depend upon it, hon. members, there is an object, and you must oppose it like men—corruption and wickedness may attempt to prevail, but they shall not. This is one of the crying evils of the land which so loudly call for inquiry. Let the Chief Justice give notice of a rule to the effect of altering the practice, and it could be discussed at the next meeting.

The Chief Justice.—The president has displayed an acquaintance with the workings and purposes of men holding public situations, which, being derived from sources over which I have no control, cannot be noticed by me; and he has accounted for the motives of those actions in public men with a particularity which would induce one to believe he was actually speaking from experience. As he describes them, those motives are corrupt and dishonourable indeed, and are applicable not only to those who vote for Government, but who vote also to obtain the "reward and approbation" of any particular party, or faction, or individual in the community. If he means them to any member here present, such language is highly unbecoming any member, and more especially the president of this board; he has named no member, which, of course, would have been a breach of privilege; not having done so, he (the president) can only be regarded as speaking for himself. I for one deny and disclaim

all such dishonourable motives of seeking favour and office, in wishing my name to appear as the mover of this motion—and I insist upon its being done.

The clerk then noted the names of the members for the motion accordingly.

Governor's Message on the delay in passing Laws.

Mr. Blanc rose to propose a reply to his excellency's message. It was to the effect, that in acknowledging the same, the board begged leave to inform his excellency that several measures were now before them on which the board were making all the progress in their power. The proposed reply went on to inform his excellency that the board were desirous of inquiring into and reporting upon the present state of the country, and that they took this opportunity to request that his excellency would be pleased to order to be laid before them copies of the reports of the stipendiary and other justices, from the 1st of August, 1838, to enable them properly so to do. He said that the present system of administering justice in the island is monstrous—it is cruel. Hon. members may suppose that he spoke in anger, but he assured them that he spoke in grief. When he looked upon the stipendiary magistrates—a body of men totally unfit, by their ignorance of law, and of the first elements of their duty, their general unacquaintance with the customs of the people, he saw with sorrow the cause of all the confusion existing in the land. These men are in the habit of making reports which never reach the public eye. What are those beautiful principles laid down by Chatham, Bentham, and others?—"Secrecy is the medium of corruption! Publicity is the soul of justice." He (Mr. Blanc) had seen one or two of these reports, and they abounded with misrepresentations.

Mr. O'Sullivan.—I, for one, deny that!

Mr. Blanc.—The governor calls for a "formal explanation."

The Chief Justice.—What has that to do with the reports of the stipendiary magistrates?

Mr. Blanc.—When we see those reports we will be able to find out what has been written, as he had reason to believe that their contents were calculated to bring the proprietary into disgrace; and they ought to be laid before the board that the truth may be known. They were called upon to make explanation of the delay which has taken place in the passing of laws (which circumstance he considered at once a breach of privilege,) and by having those reports they will be able to ascertain whether those laws are required or not. The state of the country was monstrous and frightful, and his object was to inquire into and report upon it.—We had lived to see charges brought against almost every public functionary. The president—the attorney general—the coroner—the late Chief Justice Jameson—and he (Mr. Blanc) would be indeed distressed, did he not firmly believe as he had been always taught, and as he every day prayed, that "truth shall prevail," and vice you know, "will not have perpetual sway."

The Chief Justice alluded to the rumours at that time afloat of changes in the council, and observed, that, so far from deserving the imputation of being hostile to the board, if the course he had all along recommended had been followed, it would have had the effect, rather of keeping hon. members in their seats, than of endangering them.

Mr. Blanc.—Keep us in our seats! shame! shameful!

The Chief Justice explained:—Were ever such disorderly proceedings seen in the House of Lords?

Mr. Blanc.—You were never at the House of Lords.

The Chief Justice.—And you were only there two or three times, when you were studying to be a methodist.

Mr. Blanc.—No! I went to see them for THREE YEARS. The very governor's message was out of order, and unconstitutional.

The Chief Justice.—Then it cannot be constitutional to answer, which you are yet doing.

The message, as proposed by Mr. Blanc, was then carried by a majority of four to two.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15th

The Chief Justice's Protest.

The Chief Justice laid on the table a protest prepared and signed by his honour, expressing at length the "reasons" of his dissent from the message to the lieutenant-governor of the last meeting.

Mr. Blanc.—I oppose the insertion of that "protest," so called, upon the journals of the board, because it contains matter irrelevant and foreign to the message from which it professes to be a dissent. It enters into a whole history of the consideration of all the bills which have hitherto come before the Board, and more especially contains the most direct and repeated reflections upon the majority of this Board. It is highly unparliamentary to introduce into a protest any matter foreign to, or not contained in the thing objected to. This can only be intended to bolster up the former scheme of support to all the measures of government, and to reflect upon and intimidate those honorable members who are determined to oppose them. The stipendiary magistrates, it is well known, are a set of men who have rendered themselves obnoxious to every honest member of the community. When we see men paid by government ignorant of the common elements of grammar, not able to make a nominative case agree with the verb—corrupt and —

Mr. O'Sullivan.—I call you to order, Mr. president.

Mr. Blanc.—I am not to be intimidated. Yes; men who promote anarchy and confusion in the country—creating dissensions by which they live, and by which they profit—hirelings and —

Mr. O'Sullivan.—I call you to order, sir,—the term *hireling* is a word which I will not allow to be attached to me, at the hazard of my life!—It is false!

Mr. Blanc.—I care not, sir, for the intimidations of any bully or —

Mr. O'Sullivan.—If you go on, sir, in this insulting and ungentlemanly manner, I shall not, and cannot sit down without calling you to order!

The Chief Justice.—Really these personalities towards Mr. O'Sullivan should not be tolerated by the other members of the board.

Mr. Blanc.—I am FREE! sir! —

Mr. O'Sullivan.—So am I! and I say I will not allow you, nor any other man, whoever he may be, to charge the stipendiary magistrates with every crime with which humanity can be cursed, without contradicting you.

Mr. Blanc.—You used the word *false* just now.

Mr. O'Sullivan.—It was only in defence of my character.

Mr. Blanc thought it proper at once to express that, in all his remarks

respecting the stipendiary magistrates, he did not directly nor indirectly intend any of them whatsoever to apply to Mr. O'Sullivan, for, as he had said at a former meeting, if he must make an exception, it certainly was in favour of that gentleman.

Mr. O'Sullivan with that explanation was perfectly satisfied, and begged that every allowance might be made for the warmth of feeling pending the avowal of such an explanation. He would conclude by only remarking that he was truly sorry to find amongst the majority of the board so much prejudice and hostility towards the stipendiary magistrates, that scarcely one member had said so much as one word against the abuse of them by his honour, the president.

Mr. Blanc.—The state of the country did indeed loudly call for an inquiry. Men were compelled to vote in support of a government whom they dared not disobey, and were determined to stop the free exercise of independent legislation. A set of persons in the country, whose sole aim is to put down the educated and the wealthy, and to exalt ignorance and insignificance upon the ruins of civilization! It had been said, and had been sent forth to the world, that there were "reporters" who took down their proceedings; they may report—but let them take care,—let them report the truth; let them beware how they attempted to publish to the world the honest sentiments of an English lawyer,—his unfettered opinions, and independent opposition to ignorance and wickedness. Those magistrates want more laws, that they might have a wider field for their mal-administration. The paper read by the Chief Justice was a libel upon the board, and calculated only to bring them into disrepute, together with the unheard-of attempts already abroad for that purpose. He therefore proposed that this paper—this *farce of a protest*, be referred to a committee of the whole board.

The Chief Justice.—The hon. member (Mr. Blanc) had thought proper to indulge in a strain of personal invective against him (the Chief Justice), whilst commenting upon the protest, which he, as a gentleman, could never condescend to reply to. The stipendiary magistrates have been charged by him (Mr. Blanc) with every crime of which gentlemen or magistrates could be guilty; and, in a message to his excellency, he had called for the reports of these men, since the 1st of August, 1838, in order, as is alleged, to prove their misconduct; and now, because he (the Chief Justice) saw that, in seeking to obtain these reports, the ultimate result would be delay in passing the laws now before the board, and which were so urgently required by the country; calculated to throw the land into anarchy, discord, and confusion—because he had entered a protest against the message, he was charged with libelling the board, and was told that the protest was calculated to bring the board into disrepute; and the unheard-of, the astounding attempt had been made to prevent his protest being inserted on the minutes of the board. It cannot be doubted, that on receipt of these reports it is the intention of the Board to have copies taken of them in order to their investigation; 70 reports—five members to have a copy of each, which would take up at least three months before they would be completed, even with the assistance of short-hand writers! (and then we could not read them) or the reporter that had already been referred to—

Mr. Blanc.—I don't believe it—he can't write short hand.

The Chief Justice.—I have been told he can, and I believe it.

Mr. Blanc.—The reporters in England never write short-hand! I knew them all; there is only one who can—his name is Dowdy.

The Chief Justice.—Oh! The president knows every thing; he, even at this distance, and the length of time which has elapsed since he was there, tells us there is only one short-hand writer in England! but I hope, as there is a reporter present, he will note that important fact. He begged leave to assure hon. members that he meant no disrespect whatever to the local justices, when he stated that "the interest of the proprietor must frequently come in collision with the interests of the labouring population;" for they were precisely the words which fell from the lips of proprietors to him. He always maintained, and saw no reason now to change his opinion, that the stipendiary magistrates were the most fit and proper persons to be entrusted with the administration of the laws between employer and employed, as they were men who, possessing no interest in the colony, would perform their duty without the risk of being supposed to act from fear, favour, or affection.

Mr. Bremner thought the last reason should be struck out, it being a serious reflection upon the local magistrates that they conceived themselves incapable of deciding cases between proprietors and labourers—he for one did not feel so.

Mr. Blanc, Yes! And look at this—the chief justice of the island has relations in the country, property, friends, fees, a nephew at the bar, was engaged in suits for clients, yet he decides cases—why should not the local magistrates do so?

The Chief Justice.—Lord Eldon had property, relations, former clients, relations at the bar, &c.

Mr. Blanc.—It is a notorious fact that the Chief Justice, who receives a salary of £1500 a-year, besides fees, could not sit in several cases during the last term from having been formerly engaged in them as counsel or otherwise.

Mr. O'Sullivan.—We are not here to discuss the merits of the Chief Justice for his office.—You have merged into a personal attack upon him.

The Chief Justice.—As it seemed to be the opinion of two hon. members that the third reason in his protest reflected upon the local magistrates, (though he did not think so) he would strike out the same.

Mr. Blanc.—Strike out all!

The Chief Justice.—"Timeo danaos et dona ferentes."—I am not very willing to take advice from such a quarter.

Mr. Blanc.—The whole protest was a reflection upon the local magistracy, and a libel upon the board; and I intend, at the next meeting, to bring a charge against you, arising out of that very protest.

The Chief Justice.—Hear, hear, hear.

The protest, as corrected, was then ordered to be placed on the minutes.

BRITISH GUIANA.

(From the *Barbados Liberal*.)

COOLIE EMIGRATION.—We hear that a report is confidently circulated in the colony, that "the Messrs. Glen have received advices from parties in England, 'high in the confidence of government,' that government have given assurances of their willingness to allow the revival, and that speedily, of Coolie emigration to the colony." The joy with which this report has inspired "the planters and their attaches" is said to be "indecent and unbounded."

UNITED STATES.

CAPTIVES OF THE AMISTAD.

(From the *New Haven Record*.)

MR. PORTER.—While in your city the other day I visited the jail, and spent an hour or two with the Africans. While sitting in their school room, a little incident occurred which interested me very much at the time, and which I think will be interesting to your readers, as throwing light upon their character.

One of the teachers asked a division of some five or six, whom he was instructing, if they would like to go to Havana.—"Havana?" each repeated. "Yes," replied the teacher. "No, No," burst from every tongue, accompanied with a most decided shake of the head, and shrug of the shoulders, their countenances at the same time assuming an expression of the deepest anxiety. One of them at the same time raising his head, drew his hand across his throat, indicating the fate they feared. Another laid his arms across each other at the wrists, exclaiming, "Havana, Pipi," i.e. Ruiz. Another declared by signs that their legs were secured as well as their hands. Another extended his arm violently, and, by bringing his thumb and finger together, imitated the snapping of a whip, repeating "Pipi, Pipi." How strange it is they do not love Havana!

Pointing to them individually, and then away, the teacher asked, "you, you, Africa go?" "Mendi?" they inquired. "Yes," was the reply, "Mendi," i.e. do you wish to go to Mendi? "Yes, yes," was the universal exclamation, and their countenances kindled up with a new expression of joy. After this, the teacher pointing first to himself and then to them, said, "I, you, you, Mendi?" At first they seemed not perfectly to understand, and asked, "you, me, Mendi, go?" i.e. "You go with me to Mendi?" "Yes," was replied, "I, you, Mendi." "Yes, yes," said all.—"But," proceeded the teacher, "I, you, Mendi,"—then putting on a stern, angry look, rising from his seat, and with arms folded upon his breast, walking away, indicating neglect and ill-will—"then you so?" he asked, turning towards them.—"No, no, no," was the repeated exclamation, "No, so," said they, "so," with the warmest expressions of kindness, extending their arms, and then, as if embracing some object of affection, clasping it to their bosom, "you so." One, at the same time raising his hand to his mouth, by signs promised to provide food, and added in words "You Merica man, yandinguo, yandinguo," i.e. good, good.—But even this was not the full expression of their feelings. All extended their hands, and, grasping the teacher's, gave a warm, and, I thought, a painful pledge, that they spoke the truth.

I am told that not unfrequently similar incidents occur. As the teachers enter their room in the morning, many come to shake hands, and greet them with a joyous "good morning," and as they leave at night, they go away with the warm hearted "good bye," accompanied with the same outward expression.

There are among them some noble-looking, noble-spirited men, to subdue whom would be no easy task. Cinqua, Fuli, Grabaung, Kimbo, slaves? Ah, yes, it may be. Obedient slaves? No, never—at least so it seems to me.

The thought must distress every friend of humanity, that these poor children of Africa may possibly be surrendered to their pretended owners. If such an event takes place, and they are doomed to slavery, who can tell their sufferings? Will not revenge be sweet to the Spaniards? Will not Montez and Ruiz remember the Amistad, the prosecution, the jail, the disgrace?

O let it never be, nor let them be sent back to Havana for execution. But if it must be, let Christians, let the genius of humanity and liberty, let the protecting angel of our country, let us all sit down mourning in sack-cloth and ashes. Yet rather, let us know, that Cinqua, Grabaung, Mergroo, one, all lie by the side of Kaperi and his companions, sleeping on in quiet, till the day of judgment.—Christians, remember, when you pray, these sons and daughters of abused, bleeding Africa.

BETA.

Nov. 24, 1839.

Home News.

DEPUTATION TO SIR LIONEL SMITH, BART.

A deputation from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society waited on Sir Lionel Smith, Bart., late Governor of Jamaica, at his residence, Eaton-place, on Tuesday, the 21st of January, for the purpose of presenting to him an address from this society, a copy of which is subjoined, together with his excellency's answer thereto. The address was presented by the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, LL.D., and the following gentlemen were present on the occasion:—Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, LL.D.; Sir T. C. Style, M. P.; Joseph Pease, Esq., M. P.; Joseph Brotherton, Esq., M. P.; W. Ewart, Esq., M. P.; Joseph Sturge, Esq.; George Stacey, Esq.; Josiah Forster, Esq.; G. W. Alexander, Esq.; F. C. Brown, Esq.; Rev. J. H. Hinton; Rev. J. Woodwark; J. Scoble, Esq.; Joseph Cooper, Esq.; H. Sterry, Esq.; R. Chamberlain, Esq.; Richard Barrett, Esq.; J. Beaumont, Esq.; Josiah Conder, Esq.; J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR LIONEL SMITH, BART., &c. &c.

"Sir,—The distinguished services which you have rendered to the cause of human liberty and happiness in Jamaica, as the head of the executive in that important island during the most interesting and eventful period of its history, claim from the friends of the lately emancipated population a distinct and public avowal, and a heartfelt and grateful acknowledgment.

"In pursuance, therefore, of a duty no less imperative than gratifying, the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society most respectfully tender to your Excellency their unanimous and cordial thanks for the inflexible justice which has marked your course, in the fulfilment of the high trusts committed to your charge as the governor of Jamaica, in your noble and unflinching protection of the ministers of religion of every name, and in the impartial and enlightened policy you have advocated and recommended—not less with the view of securing to that colony and to the mother country the full tide of prosperity which should result from a great act of national justice to a long injured and grievously oppressed race of men, than of placing on a firm and imperishable basis those civil and political rights and social privileges which had been assured to them by the British legislature, at a most costly sacrifice to the people of Great Britain.

"The Committee unfeignedly rejoice that you have been enabled to accomplish much for humanity and freedom, amidst opposition of a kind which they will not permit themselves here to characterize.

"Your Excellency has brought with you the blessing of multitudes of the labouring population, who will ever bear you in grateful remembrance as their sincere and uncompromising friend and protector.

"The testimony which your Excellency has so frequently and unhesitatingly borne to the unexampled patience with which the negro population under your government endured the petty tyrannies and oppressive proceedings of many of their late masters, to the cheerful industry they have manifested where fairly and honourably treated, and to the gratitude they have so strikingly and affectingly exhibited for the protection and countenance afforded them, demonstrates that, when conciliation shall take the place of coercion—when the law of justice and kindness shall be substituted for the practice of fraud and oppression—when, in short, the spirit of slavery shall have passed away as well as its name—a career of agricultural and commercial prosperity, unparalleled in its past history, will be open to the island of Jamaica.

"In view of the great work yet to be accomplished in that colony, in obtaining the alteration or repeal of obnoxious laws, and in the enactment of such others as may be necessary to consolidate and maintain the liberties of all classes of the community; in extending the elective franchise, and thus securing to the free population the advantage of a liberal representation in the House of assembly, and in purifying the courts of law, the committee deeply regret your removal from the island before you had an opportunity of carrying out these great and beneficial reforms; and nothing could have reconciled them and the friends of enlightened freedom generally to that event, but your appointment as the Governor of Mauritius—a colony whose past history proves it will require no common firmness on the part of the executive to secure justice to its labouring population, a large number of which population consists of Hill Coolies, introduced within the last few years, the protection of whose rights the Committee would earnestly recommend to your Excellency's especial care. But the Committee entertain the fullest confidence, that the same spirit of wisdom and decision, and the same impartial justice, which so eminently characterized your government of Jamaica, will be manifested at Mauritius, and that, fully sustained in the arduous duties of your high office by the influence and power of the home government, and above all by the blessing of Almighty God, your Excellency will be enabled to overcome every difficulty, to establish the supremacy of the laws, to sustain the rights of the Crown, and to secure the liberties of the people, and thus add another claim to the gratitude and veneration of your countrymen, and to the favour and approbation of your Sovereign.

"On behalf of the Committee, I have the honour to be,

"Your excellency's most obedient humble servant,

"STEPHEN LUSHINGTON."

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

"GENTLEMEN,—I thank you very sincerely for an address, which assures me you have understood the difficulties of my situation in administering the government of Jamaica with that spirit of justice to the labouring classes which the government and people of England had purchased for them, and which they themselves had richly earned by their patient submission to wicked laws and habitual oppression.

"Your Society, renowned for its humane [designs in extinguishing slavery in all countries, has contributed greatly to those measures which forced the liberation of the African race in the West Indies; but I would entreat you not to relax in the exertions which I know to be still necessary to consolidate freedom in Jamaica.

"Efforts are still making to carry through oppressive laws against the labourers, and to procure the dismissal of the special magistrates, that the execution of such laws may solely depend on the planting magistrates.

"I dread the consequences to the people, and a greater misfortune could hardly happen against the welfare of the island; and though I am aware the special magistrates have been a heavy additional expense to this country, it should be urged by the friends of the negroes, that one of the earliest and happiest effects of their freedom has been a vast reduction in the expenses of the military establishment.

"I shall carefully inform myself of the views of her Majesty's government in regard to the encouragement of Asiatic labour for the sugar cultivation of the Mauritius; and you may be assured I will do all in my power in that colony, as I did in the West Indies, to prohibit oppression; and I beg to thank you, gentlemen, for the gratification I have derived by your confidence in my character, that I will faithfully endeavour to maintain the supremacy of the laws, the rights of my Sovereign, and the liberties of the people entrusted to my government.

"I am, gentlemen,

"Your faithful and obedient servant,

"LIONEL SMITH.

"To the Deputation of the British and Foreign
"Anti-Slavery Society."

CAPTAIN STOCKENSTROM,

LATE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.
Memorial to the Right Honorable Lord John Russell, &c. &c.

MY LORD,

Having been requested by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to seek an interview with your Lordship, for the purpose of submitting to your consideration a statement of the circumstances which have come to their knowledge, connected with the case of Captain Stockenstrom, late lieutenant-governor of the Cape colony, and his removal from office, the deputation respectfully solicit your Lordship's attention to the following remarks on the subject.

The Committee of the society the deputation represent are deeply impressed with a sense of the valuable qualifications and long experience of Captain Stockenstrom, and, considering the implicit confidence reposed in his character by the Caffre chiefs and people, as well as by every native tribe near the colonial boundary, the steady support he has afforded to the cause of Christian missions, education, and civilization, among the coloured classes in South Africa, they were of opinion that his resuming the administration of the government of the eastern districts of the Cape colony at the present crisis was peculiarly desirable, not only for promoting the moral advancement of the coloured races, but for the preservation of peace on the frontiers, and to avert the calamitous consequences of another Caffre war.

They therefore hailed with the highest satisfaction the proof given by Her Majesty's government of unimpaired confidence in his qualifications for that office, after a full consideration of the whole subject, in the wish officially communicated to him that he would re-consider his proposed resignation of office, and in his actual re-appointment, with an augmented salary, in the month of August last.

But it was with corresponding regret they learned that the arrangements definitively made by Lord Glenelg, after the fullest consideration, had been first suspended, and then set aside, chiefly, they believe, in consequence of the private and unauthorized representation of an irresponsible individual, Major Chartres, who, without communicating with Captain Stockenstrom, induced the Marquis of Normanby to believe that the return of the lieutenant-governor would be unacceptable to the governor of that colony, on the ground that Captain Stockenstrom could not discharge the duties of that office with benefit to the public.

This representation appears to have been privately conveyed without any authority from the governor, Sir George Napier.

Major Chartres has since avowed in a letter to Captain Stockenstrom, dated the 26th of October last, that he mistook Sir G. Napier's meaning and sentiments, and has apologized to Captain Stockenstrom in writing, for his "misapprehension and mistaken zeal." It has been asserted that an extensive alienation of feeling exists on the part of the Cape colonists towards Captain Stockenstrom, but this can be shown not to extend beyond certain individuals who have uniformly opposed the just and humane system of frontier policy introduced by Lord Glenelg, or such of the colonists as have evinced a spirit of disaffection to the colonial or British government.

Under these circumstances, it appears that Captain Stockenstrom must be regarded as the victim of erroneous information, by which means the colony and Her Majesty's service have been deprived of an efficient officer, and his voluntary resignation has been converted into a summary dismissal.

The Committee more especially deplore the treatment Captain Stockenstrom has undeservedly, and as they believe, unintentionally met with at the hands of Her Majesty's government, after thirty years service, on account of the injurious impression which it is adapted to produce in the colony, by encouraging the enemies of the sound and philanthropic policy proposed by Lord Glenelg, and carried into effect with judicious energy by Captain Stockenstrom, to infer that their opposition has triumphed, and that a change of policy has been adopted in the colonial office.

This impression can be removed only by some unequivocal demonstration of the continued confidence reposed by her Majesty's government in the character of the late lieutenant-governor. And the Committee desire most respectfully to submit to your Lordship's consideration an expression of their hope, that the stigma unjustly cast upon Captain Stockenstrom, in consequence of erroneous information, will be removed, by effacing from the records of the colonial office everything that is disparaging to that officer, and which would, while it stands, be a barrier both in his own feelings, and in the view of the public, to his serving Her Majesty with honour and advantage in any other public capacity.

On behalf of the Committee, I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

Office of the Anti-Slavery Society,
January 2, 1840.

Correspondence.

FAILURE OF THE CROP IN BRITISH GUIANA.

To the Editors of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Sirs,—I have for some time been waiting for a moment of leisure to draw the attention of our abolition friends through the country to various important topics connected with the present condition of the labouring population in British Guiana, and the future prospects of that fine colony; but numerous and important public engagements have hitherto prevented my carrying my design into execution. On my return from France, however, I trust I shall be able to devote a few days to these points, with the view of showing the causes which have been in operation there, and which have led to a partial failure of the sugar crop this year. In the meantime, I beg to call your attention to three very important despatches, forwarded to the colonial department by Governor Light. The first refers to the unpropitious season which the planters had to encounter in securing their crops last year; the second to the amount of shipping employed in the carrying trade between this country and Guiana; and the third to the price of properties sold during the last year, not to speculators, but to residents in the colony, who knew their value, and who have thus shown the opinions they entertain of the outcry raised, for the worst purposes, against the labouring population.

I am, Sirs, your's respectfully,

JOHN SCOBLE.

London, 22nd January, 1840.

DESPATCHES FROM GOVERNOR LIGHT TO THE MARQUIS OF NORMANBY.

Governor's Residence, Demerara, 26th April, 1839.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship the Custom-house returns of produce shipped from this colony for the January quarter of the present year. There is a considerable falling off for the counties of Essequibo and Demerara; and there is far from a trifling decrease for Berbice.

I beg your Lordship to bear in mind, that the cane cultivation on most of the estates is distant, at extreme points four, five, and sometimes eight miles from the works; that the cane-fields are intersected by trenches leading into a main trench, running the whole length of the cultivation. The trenches are just wide enough, and deep enough, to allow their being navigable for punts; and on the sufficiency for water in these trenches depends the feasibility of carrying away the canes as they are reaped to the mill. In ordinary seasons the trenches are sufficiently supplied from creeks, savannahs, or lakes, with water, to communicate freely with the works by means of punts, dragged by mules pacing the side lines of the great trench. The season, which had been excessively favourable at the beginning of the year, and gave promise of large return, has not for upwards of seventy-two days had a respite from excessive drought; the consequence has been, that the savannahs, creeks, or lakes, have been

dried up; the trenches, having no supply, have been exhausted, and the canes have been left uncut from the impossibility of conveyance to the works. This, then, is the chief cause of the failure during the last quarter, and not the idleness of the peasantry, to which some of the planters are disposed to ascribe it.

The good feeling, not to say devotion, of the negroes on many of the estates, has been evinced strongly within the last three or four weeks, in arresting the alarming progress of the conflagration of the woods and savannahs, which form a belt round most of the estates, and are either separated from the cultivation by trenches or creeks. Upwards of seventy miles in Demerara alone, are at this moment smoking, or in flames, or destroyed; two or three estates on the west coast of the river Demerara have suffered much from the progress of the fire. The same fire rages in other parts of the colony, but not to such extent.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

HENRY LIGHT.

[Note.—His Excellency, the governor, might have very properly added two additional facts, of which all the planters in Guiana are aware, namely, that, during the extraordinary drought which prevailed, and which continued for many weeks after the above despatch was written, the canals, trenches, and drains connected with estates were deepened and cleansed, to a much greater extent than had been done for many years past, and much work of that kind, which had been neglected in past years, was then performed; and secondly, that, in consequence of the heavy rains in the fall of 1838, followed by the long and severe drought of 1839, the canes were so greatly injured that, on some estates, the yield of saccharine matter was not two-thirds, and on others, not one-half of former years.]

Governor's Residence, Demerara, 28th May, 1839.

My Lord,

I have thought it my duty to obtain a comparative return from the Custom Office of the number and tonnage of vessels inwards and cleared outwards, for the years 1836, 1837, and 1838, which I have the honor to forward to your Lordship, adding a few observations on the different data.

1st. The increasing demand of British Guiana for manufactured goods, and other supplies, has occasioned an additional tonnage inwards of 10,618 tons, as compared with that of the year 1836, and of 4270 tons, as compared with that of the year 1837.

2nd. The number of vessels outwards in ballast, is no criterion of the extent of the deficiency of export, because the importation will for several succeeding years, in all probability, require a larger tonnage than the exports, even though these latter should be equal to their amount in days of slavery; and this cannot be, unless there is an influx of labourers; inasmuch, as the women will most probably not labour in the field as constantly as they have heretofore done.

3rd. The tonnage outwards in ballast is not of ships usually trading to this country, as may be inferred from the circumstance, that the vessels in question did not return to the ports whence they came, but proceeded for the most part to the States of America, or, being vessels coming from the States or British possessions, having disposed of their cargoes of lumber, provisions, &c., obtained dollars to purchase cargoes elsewhere.

4th. It is presumed that the real decrease in the outward tonnage is about 10,000 tons in 1838, as compared with 1837, and this decrease is not greater than the events of last year rendered probable.

I trust these remarks will enable your Lordship to judge of the real grounds for the outcry made by interested persons against the diminishing resources of the colony.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

HENRY LIGHT.

[Note.—His Excellency might further have stated, that, in consequence of the circumstances before alluded to, which not only affected the amount of the crop, but which delayed its ingathering, vessels left in ballast for other colonies, for freight, in the first half-year of 1839. It is both unfair and unjust, if not worse, to attribute to indolence on the part of the negroes, that which can be readily accounted for by a reference to providential and natural causes.]

Governor's Residence, Demerara, June 26th, 1839.

My Lord,

A perusal of the valuation of the undermentioned estates, since the 1st of August, will convince your Lordship and Her Majesty's government that emancipation has not diminished the prices of property, the best proof of the confidence in the steady prospects of the colony:—

Plantation Zelandia, on Walkenham, Essequibo: £42,000. was offered to the proprietor, residing on the spot; was accepted, but the day following the proprietor begged to be permitted to recal his assent; 1839.

Plantation Allness, Berbice, sold in 1839 for £28,000, its full value, undiminished by the emancipation of the labourers.

Plantation Thomas, Demerara, sold seven or eight years ago, for £9,000; purchased since the emancipation for £20,000.

Plantation Vrow Anna, Leguan island, Essequibo, sold in 1839 for £35,000, its full value, undiminished by the emancipation.

Plantation Aberdeen, Essequibo, sold for £20,000 in 1839, a larger price than was paid for it eight or nine years ago by the seller.

Plantation Friendship, Demerara, cotton and plantains, sold in 1839 for a greater price than was paid for it in 1833 or 1834.

Plantation Windsor Forest, Demerara, for £42,000., the full value, undiminished by emancipation.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

HENRY LIGHT.

[Note.—Zelandia belongs to W. Arrindell, Esq., whose complaints of the ruin of the colony have been loud and frequent, not only at public meetings, but in the Combined Court; yet we find this man, after having obtained a purchaser of his estate at a splendid sum, not only recalling his assent to the sale, but willing to risk his fortune under the free system! Can we have a better refutation of the idle tales propagated through the press of the ruin of the colony?

It is a remarkable fact, that whilst all the estates enumerated in the above list have sold for their full value, (undiminished by the emancipation of the labourers, who, under the system of slavery, formed part of the estimated value of the properties to which they were attached,) several of them have realized a much larger price than could be obtained for them during the palmy days of slavery; in other words, the value of plantations in British Guiana at the present time is equal, if not greater, without slaves than it was formerly with them!]

Advertisement.

PERSECUTION IN JAMAICA.

THE attention of the Friends of Religion, Justice, and Freedom, is earnestly solicited to certain iniquitous proceedings which have recently taken place in Jamaica, which, if not promptly and vigorously met, threaten not only the ruin of those against whom they have been directed, but the destruction of that liberty which has been purchased for the Negro at so costly a sacrifice.

At the Assizes for the county of Cornwall, held at Montego Bay in July last, various actions were brought, under different pretexts, against several well-known friends of the labouring classes in that Island. Amongst the victims of these proceedings were a Clergyman of the Church of England, a Missionary belonging to the Baptist Society, and some of the magistrates specially appointed for the protection of the emancipated population, in each of which cases the jurors decided against the party accused, and in most of them with enormous damages, under circumstances which can leave no doubt that the design is to ruin those whose hatred of oppression has rendered them obnoxious to the enemies of freedom.

At the same Assizes, a criminal information, filed by order of the Court against the Editor of a local newspaper for grossly defaming a Baptist minister, was tried, and the jury, without the formality of retiring to consider their verdict, immediately acquitted the defendant, contrary to the express direction of the Chief Justice, and the plaintiff was left with his injuries unredressed, and a heavy amount of legal expenses to pay.

These violent and reckless proceedings appear to have produced a greater excitement than has been known in the island since the insurrection in 1832.

The Negroes behave with admirable moderation, but they feel most deeply at the prospect of their best friends and protectors, of whom it was once sought to deprive them by brute force, now falling victims to the more specious, but not less effectual weapons of oppression, in the form of legal proceedings.

The juries on these occasions were almost wholly composed of persons belonging to a class who have uniformly and bitterly opposed the abolition of slavery, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and there is no hope whatever of obtaining justice for the parties against whom these verdicts have been given, but by an appeal to the Court of Error in the Island, and, if requisite, to the ultimate tribunal in this country, which will involve heavy legal expenses in addition to those already incurred.

To meet these expenses, an earnest appeal is now made to the liberality of the British public.

The following gentlemen have been appointed a Committee, with power to add to their number, to lay the particulars of these atrocious proceedings fully before the public, to promote subscriptions for the purposes contemplated, and for similar cases of oppression, and to superintend the appropriation of the funds collected.

COMMITTEE.

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J. H. Tredgold, Esq., Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street, or by any of the Members of the Committee.

HENRY STERRY, Sec.

27, New Broad Street.

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